EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

KINGSLEY MARTIN REVIEWS "BEATRICE WEBB'S DIARIES"

THE Nation

MAY 26, 1956
20c

"Big-Bomber" SYMINGTON

Dead Aim for the Presidency

by Matthew Josephson

The Sovereign State of G.M.

by T. K. Quinn

In This Issue:

EDITORIALS

441 • The Shape of Things

ARTICLES

442 • Big-Bomber Symington
by MATTHEW JOSEPHSON

447 • Sovereign State of G.M.
by T. K. QUINN

449 • Lester Pearson and NATO
by HAROLD GREER

451 Democracy Today
by DAVID THOMSON

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

454 • The Private World of Beatrice Webb
by KINGSLEY MARTIN

455 • The Face of Evil
by FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

455 • A Kind of Genius
by WILLIAM BITTNER

456 • Gothic Painters of the North
by S. LANE FAISON

456 • TV and RADIO FORECAST

457 • TELEVISION
by GILBERT SELDES

458 • THEATRE
by ROBERT HATCH

459 • MUSIC
by B. H. HAGGIN

opposite
460 • CROSSWORD PUZZLE
by FRANK W. LEWIS

opposite
441 • LETTERS

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Letters

Capital Punishment

Dear Sirs: I circulated the article on capital punishment in your issue of March 10 among my staff, and received the following comments. My Deputy Attorney General states, "The arguments used in the article could apply to any punishment." My first assistant, Mr. Howard Black, says tersely, "In favor of death penalty." He is joined in this sentiment by Mr. Robert Duncan, special assistant with the Highway Department and by Mr. Walter J. Muir, a regular assistant who has since left my staff. Mr. Richard Leedy, another special assistant, says, "I agree in moral theory, yet question the statistics given."

We have recently argued in our State Supreme Court in support of a death penalty conviction (State vs. Clay Riggle) and will soon be arguing another death penalty conviction (State vs. Lindsay). Both cases involved brutal, premeditated murder. I, for one, cannot understand the philosophy under which society is supposed to support a cold-blooded first-degree murderer for the rest of his life. . . .

GEORGE F. GUY
Attorney General of Wyoming
Cheyenne, Wyo.

Drug Addiction

Dear Sirs: I do not concur with many of Professor Lindesmith's statements and conclusions in his article in the April 21 issue. From experience in my position covering more than twenty years and experience in pharmacy of some forty years, I fail to believe that the procedure outlined creates effective prevention, which is particularly emphasized in the last paragraph of the article.

FRANK J. SMITH
Chief, Narcotic Control Section,
State of New York
Albany, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: There is, it seems to me, much to be said in favor of Professor Lindesmith's position. It is clear that the plan for the control of the drug traffic that is being used in this country is not succeeding. Additional increments of punishment do not seem to be the answer. Prohibition didn't work with alcohol and it doesn't seem to be working with the traffic in dope.

It is true, however, that the general social setting and the seriousness of the crime problem in this country are very different from that in England. England has a much sturdier tradition and does not have the variety and conflict of cultures which have been so characteristic of the United States. Medicine has been socialized to a much greater extent in England than in the United States, which makes the problem somewhat different. Certainly no private physician here would be willing to give shots to help an addict on the basis of fourteen cents each.

Weighing both sides of this argument, however, it does seem to us that there should be at least experimentation with medical control of narcotics in some section of this country.

NORMAN S. HAYNER, Ph.D.
Chairman, State Board of Prison
Terms and Paroles
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Sirs: We are in the course of a spree of legislation which increases the punishment for narcotics offenses, emphasizing the ineffective law-enforcement approach to the problem. I believe that Professor Lindesmith's factual article in your April 21 issue can be highly useful in counteracting this trend.

May I congratulate you on the several articles you have run on capital punishment? We have a great deal in our penology that is archaic, contrary to our democratic traditions, and quite inconsistent with a correctional philosophy of rehabilitation. It is obvious that capital punishment is one of these things and the sooner we get rid of it the better.

SOL RUBIN
Counsel, National Parole and
Probation Association
New York, N. Y.

Out of the Past

Dear Sirs: As an innocent man who spent twenty years in prison before being released by California's ex-Governor Olson, permit me to say that I'm glad it didn't take twenty years to give James Kutcher a little justice. In spite of the fact that he was a severely wounded war veteran, he might have been forgotten in my day, and left penniless and friendless. He has his pension but now there is still the matter of his job to be returned to him. Meanwhile, innocent of any crime, he has to do the best he can. But it could be worse—he could be doing his waiting in prison as Tom Mooney and I did.

There's another innocent man in our United States today who is waiting it out in prison. That's Morton Sobell, accused of conspiracy to commit espionage. He's under a thirty-year sentence. Nowadays you can't find a corporal's guard to believe that Mooney and I threw a bomb into a Preparedness Parade in 1916. The day will come when nobody will believe the one witness who, trying to dodge a perjury charge, accused Sobell of being a spy. The President has the power to give him a pardon or commute his sentence to time served. I think the President ought to take that step now. Thirty years is a long, long time.

WARREN K. BILLINGS
San Francisco, Calif.

Information on Dulles

Dear Sirs: We are collecting material on John Foster Dulles concerning his public statements, actions and policies, both before and after assuming his present office, and would appreciate correspondence with others of like interest. Any material will be returned as requested.

O. T. WOOD
5405 College Avenue
Oakland, Calif.

Water

Dear Sirs: Tragedy Writ in Water in the February 11 issue was a blockbuster, to use a somewhat outdated term. Surely the problem of water is second only to that of the atomic bomb to all of the United States. It should be a matter of first importance in the Southern states seeking new industries. It is hoped that The Nation will find it possible to issue leaflet reprints of this fine article for wider circulation.

D. L. PALMER
Mena, Ark.

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The Nation, May 26, 1956, Volume 182, No. 21

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright 1956, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second-class matter at the Post Office, Montgomery, Alabama Printing Office, 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7, Two years $12, Three years $17. Additional postage per year, Foreign and Canadian $1

Change of Address: Three weeks notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1956
VOLUME 182, NUMBER 21

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

A Grave on the China Coast

Said Clausewitz, "We may . . . say, that the twenty years' victories of the Revolution are chiefly to be ascribed to the erroneous policy of the governments by which it was opposed." Clausewitz was, of course, talking about the French Revolution. But a century later Allied intervention against the Russian Revolution unwittingly helped the Bolsheviks to consolidate their power; and now the United States, through its China policy, is contributing to the political success of communism in Asia.

Out of the Chinese civil war (in which the United States was found on the Nationalist side) there came the Communist thesis that Washington is the enemy of the Chinese nation. The Peking regime worked from the beginning to fix that belief in the popular mind and energetically exploited the Korean War to that end. Then the United States itself crowned Peking's efforts by signing a military pact with the Nationalists on Formosa. What more did the Chinese people need as proof of American hostility? Washington has likewise left no doubt in the minds of other Asians of its attitude toward Peking. When it is authoritatively stated that three times in two years we stood on the "brink of war" with China, no room for doubt remains.

This leads us to the worst aspect of the matter. Washington has long known that the Communists are seeking to divide us from our Western Allies. But even as we exploited this knowledge propaganda-wise, we took positions on both China and Formosa which effectively furthered the Communist objective.

Standing firmly in support of the Formosa regime, we in turn are getting only grudging support at best either from our NATO allies or from any major Asian nation in respect to (1) the danger-laden situation in the Formosa Strait; (2) trade with China; and (3) China's representation in the U. N. As regards the Nationalist-held offshore islands, Quemoy and Matsu, we stand entirely alone—isolated from Japan and alienated from the British Commonwealth—and especially from India.

SEATO pines and NATO is ailing, the Administration complains, but doesn't think to look to our Formosa policy as a source of infection. There are no signs of a realization that our alliance with the chief survivor of the old order of things in China has immobilized us *vis-a-vis* the dynamism of present-day Asia, and that the future of our whole Asia policy is thus put in jeopardy. Back in 1920 Lenin told a Japanese journalist that "The West is digging a grave in the East to bury itself in." Lenin knew his West better than the West today knows the Asian revolution. If only we looked closely, we could see that a pitfall has been dug and lies waiting on two small islands off the China Coast—on Matsu and Quemoy. It *could* prove to be part of a larger grave.

The Bigger They Are

To the articles which we ran on The Great Miami Witch Hunt (August 7, 1954, January 22, 1955), a fitting postscript may now be added. The instigator of the witch hunt, District Attorney George A. Brautigan, has been soundly trounced in his campaign for re-election. Indeed, Brautigan was "on the ropes" back in 1954 when he hit upon the idea of launching the witch hunt as a means of diverting attention from his activities and record as a public official. The tactic worked for a time but the community's delayed reaction—thousands of reprints of *The Nation* articles were distributed in Miami—is said to have been an important factor in the better than 2-to-1 margin by which Brautigan was defeated for re-election. His collaborator in the grotesque abuse of legal processes that characterized this witch hunt was Judge George E. Holt, before whom a long list of unhappy victims were cited for contempt when they pleaded the Fifth Amendment to questions about political activities and beliefs. In some cases, Judge Holt imposed one-year jail sentences and attempted to deny bail. Now the Dade County Grand Jury has issued a stinging report in which Judge Holt is characterized as "unfit to serve" and told to resign from office. Specifically, Judge Holt is accused in the report of awarding fees of $90,000 in a curatorship case, "stripping the estate of a helpless, paralyzed old man for whom the protection of the court had been invoked."

For two years Messrs. Brautigan and Holt were the twin terrors of Dade County; to cross them was to invite prosecution. But apparently the voters of the county have reached the conclusion that the price for being "saved from communism" by Messrs. Brautigan and Holt comes too high.

Is Peace To Be Feared?

The "centrists" of the Democratic Party under Senator Symington's leadership (see Matthew Josephson's article on p. 442) seem determined to commit this

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country to an ongoing arms race for which our ranking military advisors of the moment show little enthusiasm. If Admiral Radford is correct—if in fact the "danger" now is not in the military but rather in the political and diplomatic field—then this latest Democratic initiative aimed at increasing arms appropriations was most ineptly timed. With the Democrats insisting on an increase in the arms program against the advice of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Soviets were provided with an ideal setting for their announcement of a proposed cut of 1,200,000 in military manpower. But if the Democrats set the stage for another Soviet propaganda coup, Mr. Dulles contributed his share by suggesting that the proposed reduction would strengthen the Soviet's military potential by shifting manpower from the armed services to industry! By this logic, a fully disarmed Soviet Union might be more "dangerous" than one fully armed. Neither party wants war, but it is strange that both Democrats and Republicans should be so apprehensive about peace. Can it be that neither party is prepared to face the economic consequences? Back in 1910, William James asked for a moral equivalent to war; but we also need apparently an economic equivalent.

A Quarter-Century of Irreverence

A lively anniversary issue celebrating the silver wedding of two British journals, the *New Statesman* and the *Nation*, contains plenty of reminiscent amusement along with some helpful hints for like-minded contemporaries. American political weeklies try to tell themselves that the unprecedented success of the NS&N has been due to the uniquely high level of political literacy in Britain. And this is no doubt partly true. What they tend to forget is the paper's immense and still unflagging gusto, its irreverence (even on the occasion of its own anniversary), and the unpredictability of its opinion. These qualities, we feel sure, go far to explain its appeal to all sorts of people—including many who regard it as consistent only in being wrongheaded.

We recall the doubts of older journalists, close to both papers, when the merger under Kingsley Martin was consummated. "A bright fellow, but light weight," was one verdict. "He'll never be able to swing it." Others complained of his lack of a firm position. What was he anyhow—liberal, Socialist, or just an impudent political amateur? Mr. Martin reports that Beatrice Webb dubbed him a "flibbertigibbett," a label he likes. That he could write, that he had flexibility, imagination and a capacity for emotion, all agreed. They didn't know how much more these were to count than political orthodoxy.

We greet him and his eminent journal with admiration that is more than fraternal—almost godfatherly in fact, for the London *Nation*, founded in 1907, was this *Nation's* namesake.

BIG-BOMBER SYMINGTON

Aiming at the Presidency . . *by Matthew Josephson*

Washington

THAT WE have reached a sort of global impasse in the cold war and in its long-sustained arms race with the Russian-centered powers has become plain enough, by now, for all men with eyes to see. Such an outcome was predicted by experts at almost every stage of the cold war, as we undertook to build ever newer scientific weapons, each more "absolute" than the last. The sense of a real stalemate in technological arms is borne in upon us again as a result of the hearings that have been conducted since April 16 before a special Senate subcommittee headed by Senator W. Stuart Symington, Democrat of Missouri, which has been inquiring into the Eisenhower-Wilson Air Force program (though to lead us to such a conclusion was probably the last thought in the mind of the air-power zealot Symington.)

A year ago we already knew that the Russians had a whole symphony orchestra of atomic missiles, hydrogen bombs and new intercontinental jet planes with which to deliver them. More lately the Soviet 1,500-mile guided missile was advertised for our benefit. Then, on still another front, Mr. K. and Mr. B. launched into economic competition with us in lending or giving away money. Thus we had finally lost, as the learned Senator Fulbright said in a recent speech before the Senate, not only our monopoly of nuclear weapons but our monopoly of export capital with which to win friends and influence people overseas.

By this time even a few of the Democratic Party leaders seemed to be groping their way toward some "new approach" to world policy—though it meant following the initiative of Eisenhower. George Kennan, reputedly the architect of Truman's cold-war program, protested at the "overmilitarization of our thinking." And Adlai Stevenson, in an address of April 21, proposed that America halt further H-bomb tests. He also remarked at the time that

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON, author of The Robber Barons, *is at work on a study of the effects of our huge military establishment on the national economy.*

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"we desperately need today a rebirth of ideas in the conduct of foreign affairs." The truth is, we desperately need ideas, period.

But the stalwarts of the Democratic Party, the powerful men who dominate the permanent committees of Congress, want no new ideas. They act as if they have learned nothing and forgotten nothing after ten years of global containment-armament and $312 billions in military expenditures. For them the Democratic Party must stand its ground, in this Presidential year, as the advocate of the permanent, ever-expanding defense program. A running political fight must be made over the air-power program of President Eisenhower and Secretary of Defense Wilson. Hence Stuart Symington, with the blessings of the powerful Southern leaders, Senators Richard Russell and Lyndon Johnson, was delegated to head the Senate's Armed Services subcommittee authorized to investigate our allegedly "inadequate" air force. To be sure, Symington may have delegated himself for the job, for he is a man of many "contacts" and is nothing if not persistent in his advocacy of unlimited air power and unlimited prosperity for the aircraft industry.

SINCE his election to the Senate in November, 1952, Symington, the perennially young business-executive-in-politics, who was formerly Truman's Secretary of the Air Force, has been virtually a man of one speech. He wants simply *More:* more offensive airplanes for "instant and devastating retaliation"; more and bigger missiles. Like a Cassandra, he has been warning the country for years that we may be ravished in the night by Soviet super-bombers. Taking the floor of the Senate on February 25, he declared (as so often before) that he was "saddened and shocked" at having learned through his own pipelines what Secretary Wilson had endeavored to conceal from the American people: that our program for the giant B-52 bombers had broken down—that we were making not seventeen B-52s a month, as claimed, but far fewer. Was America's to be only "the second-best air force?" Everyone knew what that meant in case of war.

The men of the government-subsidized, eight-billion-dollar aircraft trade have come to play quite a role in our public life, no less than that of the oil and natural-gas people. Stuart Symington, for example, came to high office in the Truman Administration in 1945 after having served for years as president of the Emerson Electrical Manufacturing Company of St. Louis, one of America's largest war contractors and a big producer of aircraft armament and bomber turrets ($113 million gross in 1944). His "contacts" in the aircraft field have been wide and important. Leading financiers of this country were reported to have made unusually generous contributions to the Democratic Party treasury in 1948, and Secretary of the Air Force Symington was publicly given much credit for fund-raising activities in support of Truman's campaign for reelection.

Stuart Symington

Now, in leading the attack on the GOP for having "reduced" air force appropriations and "allowing the Russians to get ahead of us," Symington moves into the spotlight as a national political figure—which he can scarcely claim to have been in his three years in the Senate. The air force inquiry has brought him forth as a substantial kind of a Dark Horse, though he still denies Presidential ambitions. And over the editorial protests of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* leaders of the Missouri organization have chosen him (instead of the able Hennings) to be Missouri's Favorite Son at the forthcoming Democratic convention. What is more, the opening of the Symington committee's investigation was shrewdly timed to begin in April, when Stevenson's stock was falling as a result of his defeat by Kefauver in the Minnesota primaries.

YOU would suppose, judging from the cries of the big-bomber generals and Senator Symington, that Secretary Wilson was a miser to the flying men. On the contrary, although the fantastic maximal air force budget proposals for fiscal 1957 were reduced a little, the air men still got roundly $17 billions—a record-breaking peacetime sum and as much as the army and navy put together. In other words, next year's air appropriations have been *increased* by $1,600,000,000 over those of 1956.

Wilson, however, has perceived that while we have been building huge military blunderbusses, our competitor has ended by doing likewise. Then our blunderbusses are declared obsolete and we must make bigger ones—an endless chain. Where is a sensible man of business, such as Mr. Wilson seems to be, to lay the people's money bets for the future? He struggles to spread them around, as Truman tried to do. In his bewilderment at the prospect of endless military waste *(cum* inflation) Wilson recently exclaimed that we cannot guarantee security for America and the free world simply by piling up masses of arms. These scientific engines of war that can slaughter millions in a few seconds take many years to develop, after which they are declared obsolete because the Russian technologists have matched them. As General Spaatz said, almost with an air of helplessness, before the Symington committee: *"We don't really know what the situation will be four or five years from now by spending money . . . in certain fields."* (Emphasis added.)

The last "great debate" over air power took place in 1949 when a House committee examined the B-36 bomber contracts: an ugly affair, featured by public scandal over alleged "outside pressures" on the air force in favor of the procurement of one model of plane rather than another, and climaxed by the famous "revolt of the admirals," who were fighting to save their beloved flat-tops. Sym-

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ington, as Secretary of the Air Force, was very much involved then, but as one of the investigated. This time, in 1956, he is doing the investigating, which is not an easy assignment since it may strike at Eisenhower who is supposed to know a thing or two about military affairs.

Symington, at fifty-five a tall, handsome and graceful figure, always faultlessly attired, seems outwardly made to be an ornament of the Senate. However, his training and background is that of the newer crop of big-business executives who managed to make money during the 1930s and especially during the world war. In public debate, as even his journalistic admirers admit, he is apt to be "neither cautious nor judicious." As a consequence, Fowler Hamilton, an able lawyer with much experience in government service, has been retained to help direct Symington's committee. There are some good newspaper men with him also to watch over public relations.

IN opening the inquiry, Symington read a prepared statement in which he declared that the investigation was to be conducted in a sober, non-controversial spirit with the sole purpose of getting at the true facts of our air-power situation, without prejudging men and policies. What the committee mainly seeks to uncover is where we stand with relation to the Communists in air power, long-range delivery systems and nuclear weapons. Because of the secret or classified nature of much of the information involved, most of the hearings (by agreement with the Pentagon) have been closed with only a few open to the press and public. Naturally this has meant a scarcity of real news, for the testimony of all military witnesses is subject to Pentagon screening before being made public.

Yet, knowing of the professional feuds raging among the different military factions—under Eisenhower as under Truman—Symington has evidently tried to exploit them. At first his highly-publicized investigation dragged along for weeks in closed sessions. Then General Curtis LeMay, the "tough, cigar-chewing boss" of the Strategic Air Command and one of the first of the air-power zealots, was brought forth as Symington's star witness. LeMay and his civilian chief, Mr. Wilson, simply do not sing in harmony. LeMay, like Symington, wants "more"; Wilson apparently wants to spend less money, if possible. With obvious reluctance, Wilson authorized LeMay to testify, though it was stipulated that for the open sessions the committee would present the general with written questions to which written answers, previously cleared by the Pentagon, would be given.

LeMay made headlines in his first appearance, April 30, when he bluntly told the subcommittee that by 1958-1960, under current programs, the Russians will have more supersonic long-range bombers than we will have of the corresponding type (B-52s). "I can only conclude that they will have a greater striking power. . . ." he added. Two days later, the general disclosed that only seventy-eight B-52s had been delivered to date, of which thirty-one had been rejected owing to a failure in electrical equipment. These "bugs" were now being removed. But the Russians were estimated to be producing heavy jet-bombers at a rate that was twice as high as our own.

FIVE years ago, LeMay said, we could have defeated Russia through the air without receiving serious damage to our own country. But now, he added somberly, "We are not capable of winning . . . without this country receiving very serious damage." For it was still, in his view, "impossible to provide an air-tight defense against a well-executed atomic-bombing attack. . . . A substantial part will always get through." The only answer for him was more offensive or deterrent power, bigger planes and madder bombs.

Herblock in Washington Post

"Never mind, I think I get the idea"

Secretary Wilson was evidently stung into making reply at press conferences and at public hearings before other Congressional committees. He did not agree, he said, with General LeMay that Russia would soon have superior air-striking power. B-52 production was soon to be expanded; our guided-missiles program also was being greatly enlarged. Stigmatizing his Senatorial critics as "fear mongers," Wilson pointed out that the heart of America's offensive air strength was in its great numbers of medium jet-bombers, the Boeing B-47s, some 1,500 of which (according to unofficial estimates) are placed at forward overseas air bases within easy reach of Russian territory. There was nothing really "medium" about these planes: they could be refueled in the air; they could carry nuclear missiles to the vital centers of the Soviet Union. Russia still had nothing like this.

In defending the Eisenhower program, Wilson was led to state clearly what its limits were. (For the air extremists, of course, the sky has been the limit.) The military objective, Wilson said, was not merely to "stay ahead" or to match Russia in "numbers"—division for division or plane for plane—but to see to it that we had enough on hand to discourage any other power from starting trouble with us. At one point he made the civilized observation that "If we had twice as much airpower as Russia . . . it still would not solve the problems of the world."

OTHER military experts and "warlords"—members of Wright Mills's "military élite"—who passed in parade before the Symington committee furnished smaller headlines and fewer political dividends for Symington than did General LeMay. The observations of Generals Bradley, Spaatz and Bedell Smith and of Admiral Carney, nevertheless, offer us food for thought. These famous warriors reflected the surprised reaction of most Americans to the picture of the Russian technicians advancing steadily toward equality with our own and, in some areas, proving even superior. "We all underestimated the Russians," General Bedell Smith confessed sadly.

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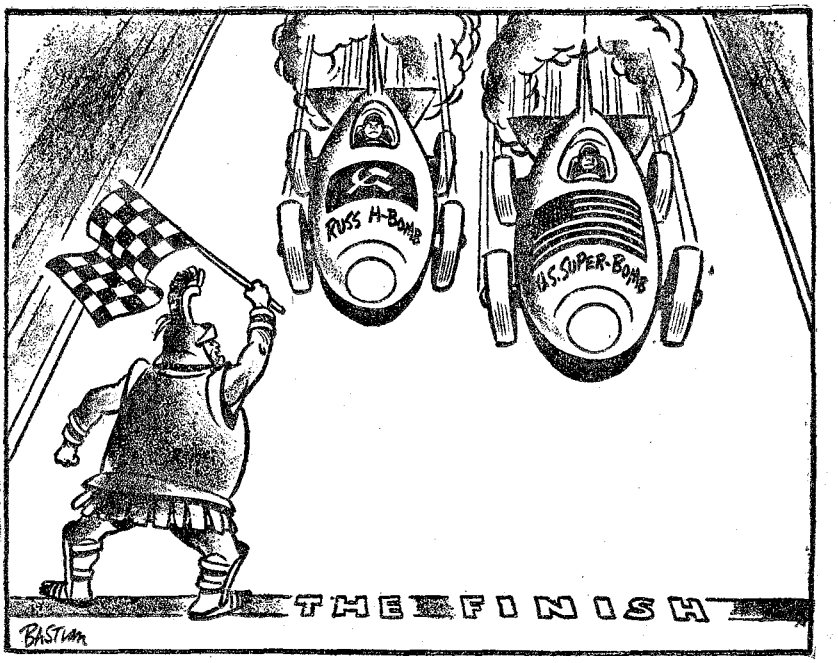
He recalled that when he served as ambassador to Moscow after World War II and on one occasion discussed with Stalin Russia's surprising power of resistance, Stalin said to him: "You will be surprised also at Russia's power of recovery."

The committee and the generals weighed a recent significant statement by General Leslie Groves, former director of the atomic-bomb project, to the effect that "the two large A-bomb stockpiles"—32,500 estimated for America and some 10,000 for Russia—simply "nullify" each other. Moreover, the reported Russian advance in guided-missiles development as well as in nuclear research creates new perplexities. Will our forward or "intermediate" air bases in Germany, England, Africa and even Iceland become untenable? And how have the Russians managed to master all these scientific secrets? (Admiral Robert Carney remarked, "We need more research." The military forget that some of our best research brains, such as those of Robert Oppenheimer, have been eliminated from government service as alleged security risks.) Had the generals attended a hearing a few weeks earlier before a House subcommittee on Government Information, they might have heard Gerard Piel, the widely-informed young publisher of the *Scientific American,* testify:

> The secrets of nature are open to discovery by scientists all over the world. . . . The truth of this statement is sustained by the history of science, where we see time and again the classical situation of the simultaneous discovery of fundamental knowledge by scientists working in entire independence of each other, and in ignorance of each others' work.

Stuart Symington pressed questions upon General Bradley along the old line: Is it not true that "there never was a time when we were more vulnerable to attack?" Bradley granted that we are more vulnerable than before. In truth all nations have been in danger for years. Symington then asked if the Russians, with their talk of 1,500- or 5,000-mile guided missiles, are not trying to "blackmail" us. And General Bradley, who is no extremist, said drily that perhaps "they want to negotiate from strength also."

If we may lose our forward bases, declared General Carl Spaatz, retired air force chief, we must depend more than ever upon "ultra-long-range aircraft as the backbone of strategic airpower." The committee tried to estimate the present capacity of our intercontinental bomber wings, which are still equipped with about 250 of the Consolidated-Vultee B-36s. Were these long-range planes not a factor still? General LeMay's reply, in open session, was: "They are obsolete." We must, he said, have more B-52s quickly; he hinted at a still newer model on the drawing boards or under development.



San Francisco Chronicle

"And it would mean finish"

BUT this is where we came in! It seems only yesterday—actually, the summer of 1949—when Stuart Symington, then Secretary of the Air Force, and General LeMay appeared before the House Armed Services Committee during the stormy investigation of the Defense Department's contracts for the B-36 skygiants. Charges were made before Congress that the procurement of the Consolidated-Vultee bombers was a "billion-dollar blunder" perpetuated as a result of alleged corrupt pressure by interested political and financial groups. Testimony was given that Admiral Radford's Navy Air Corps experts had secretly tested the bomber, as then constituted, and found it to be a "moving van" that could make only 207 miles an hour (instead of 300 as specified). Secretary of Defense Louis E. Johnson and Stuart Symington stoutly denied all these charges, which were eventually dismissed as "unproved" by the House committee. At the time Symington assured Congress that the B-36 could carry an atomic attack 5,000 miles from the United States and return nonstop. And General LeMay, the expert of the SAC, defended the B-36 in terms that were fairly arrogant. This craft, he declared, was "a true intercontinental bomber," remarking at one point: "Sir, it is my business to know and have available at my finger tips all information on any weapon. . . ."

But on May 2, 1956, when asked by Mr. Symington's own committee, "Do you consider the B-36 a modern bomber?" General LeMay answered simply, "No."

That we should continue with this old merry-go-round seems to be, so far as we can judge, the ruling idea of the Symingtons at a time when the Soviets vigorously pursue the politics of peace and disarmament. By contrast, the policies of the Republican leaders, Eisenhower and Secretary Wilson, though expressed in guarded terms, appear more statesmanlike and point the way to the conference table.

MR. TRUMAN, who had Stuart Symington in his official family for seven years, has defined him, politically, as "more of a New York State

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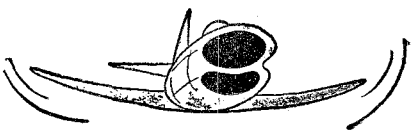
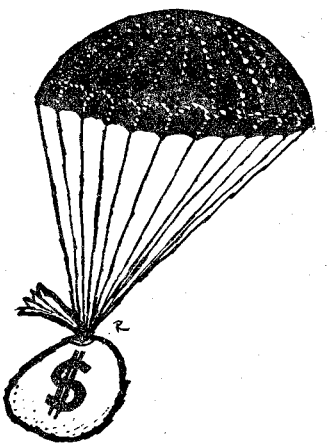


Republican than a Missouri Democrat." This refers in part to Symington's business background and family connections. The Symingtons are an old Maryland family associated with long-established Eastern industrial corporations in the railway-equipment and electrical business. After attending Yale, Symington was married in 1924 to Evelyn Wadsworth, the daughter of James W. Wadsworth, former Republican Senator and Speaker of the House and a man of wealth and high social connections. Thereafter young Symington managed fairly well as the executive head of radio and electrical-manufacturing corporations which he reorganized and expanded.

He arrived in St. Louis from the East only in 1938 to take over as president of the Emerson Electrical Manufacturing Company, which had had prolonged labor troubles and financial difficulties as well. Symington showed himself a liberal in the area of industrial relations and made a firm compact of peace with the left-wing U. E. union, after which his company's production greatly improved. His treatment of the large contingent of Negro workers in his plants also won him the commendation of the NAACP. Reports of his achievements in anti-labor St. Louis inspired the publication of a long biographical article in *Fortune*, back in November, 1943, in which Symington was portrayed as a rising young liberal in business. Even then the *Fortune* article described him also as one who gathered "a vast catalogue of those mysterious things called 'contacts.'" He was on first-name terms with labor-union officials, but his main contacts were with the upper crust of St. Louis' business world, the heads of the great Monsanto Chemical Company, the directors of utilities and banks, his fellow-members of the Country Club ("hallmark of social acceptance"), and also with Wall Street and Washington. During World War II, Symington's contacts spread all over the aircraft industry after he garnered for Emerson an elephantine contract for bomber turrets and armaments.

In June, 1945, Symington, preceded by his reputation as a dashing young liberal with money, came to Washington by invitation of Truman to become head of the War Surplus Property Board. The next year he was appointed Assistant Secretary of War for Air, and in 1947 Secretary of the newly integrated Air Force Department.

The legend has been fostered that Harry Truman thereafter moved Symington around on various other "trouble-shooting" assignments because of his administrative abilities. The fact is that Truman fired Symington as Secretary of the Air Force in April, 1950, several months after the B-36 bomber contract investigation, replacing him with Thomas K. Finletter. In polite parlance Symington's resignation was requested by the President after the two men had split irrevocably on whether to build up a vast air force or to keep a "balanced" military force and maintain the budget. (Symington, of course, claims that events have proved him right and Truman wrong.) Moreover, Symington showed himself, according to many reports, a "bad team-player" who repeatedly went over the heads of his superiors, Forrestal or Louis Johnson or Truman himself, urging Congress to appropriate more funds for the air arm than the government, at the time, knew what to do with. According to columnist Drew Pearson, Symington was also much given to leaking information through friendly press contacts (especially the Alsop brothers).



Instead of leaving Washington, the well-heeled Symington hung on and accepted another appointment from Truman as Chairman of the National Security Resources Board. But in December, 1950, when the Korean War took a grave turn, his effective authority to direct defense mobilization was handed over to "General Electric" Wilson. Early in 1952, after serving briefly as Administrator of the RFC, Symington left Washington to enter the race for the Missouri Senatorship—though without Truman's support. Standing as a moderate conservative, he won the Democratic primary contest and later was elected over the Republican candidate, Senator Kem, with the support both of Missouri's major business groups and of St. Louis' ward leaders.

In the Senate, Symington's legislative record has been fair to good. He is cozy with the active labor leaders of his state—though still looking like a club man to some of them. Missourians say that he has been "breaking his neck to get right on the middle of the road." After long soul-searching, and at the last hour, he voted against the malodorous natural-gas bill.

At the time of his famous row with McCarthy in 1954—during which his emotions caused him to lose his Senatorial dignity—a Washington newspaper correspondent asked Symington if he had been fully informed about Secretary of the Army Stevens' previous efforts to "appease" McCarthy and Private David Schine. Had Mr. Stevens, in short, told Symington the entire truth? Impulsively, Symington exclaimed: "I've known Bob Stevens a long time; he's worth *millions*. Do you think a man like that would come down and take public office in Washington and go through all this [obscenity] just to make some dishonest statements?" To the newspaper man Symington seemed to believe that no man who had so much money could ever depart from the truth.

Lesser men than Stuart Symington, with the help of Providence and some benign political wire-puller, have wound up sitting at the head of the table in the White House. If the 1956 Democratic convention should be deadlocked by the two leading candidates, Symington would probably have the preference of the Southern bloc over Harriman. And if Eisenhower should catch a cold during the election campaign, then the contest, whose result now seems so certain, would indeed become a horse race.

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SOVEREIGN STATE OF G.M.

World's Biggest Corporation . . *by T. K. Quinn*

GENERAL MOTORS is the world's biggest advertiser, spending directly and through its dealers a hundred million dollars a year. Practically every magazine, newspaper and radio and television station in the nation depends upon this monster corporation for a considerable part of its income. It is rare when anything but a favorable press is given to any subject affecting the interests of the corporation or its officials.

Through its General Motors Acceptance Corporation subsidary, the world's largest finance company, G. M. is the largest customer of the banks of the country, borrowing billions from banks in 289 cities (including all cities of over 350,000 persons). The influential bankers of the country tend to support the corporation and the sale of its products or remain silent when any questions concerning its reputation or monopolistic practices are raised.

Because G. M. is the country's largest shipper of freight, it is in a position to claim the automobile and locomotive business of the railroads.

The corporation has an annual income of over twelve billion dollars (1955). Testimony developed during recent hearings held by the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Senate Judiciary Committee* shows that more money flows through its coffers than is ever seen by the combined treasuries of forty states of the union. In this sense, G. M. is several times richer than the "Empire" state of New York. It operates 119 factories in sixty-four American cities and eighteen factories in foreign countries. It has distributing offices, representation and influence all over the world. It owns and operates insurance companies. It is the world's biggest producer of passenger cars, trucks, hundreds of automotive parts, buses and locomotives and an important producer of gas engines, bulldozers and other earth-moving machinery. It is also one of the leading producers of refrigerators, washing machines, ranges, food freezers, electric kitchens, air-conditioning, lighting, heating and water systems and many other products. Its accessory divisions produce and distribute a large variety of parts used in the aviation and marine industries.

G. M. constitutes a privately-owned economic world state empowered to make agreements with foreign governments and interests which the political state that chartered it could not legally make.

THE corporation argues that its broad stock ownership—there are more than 500,000 stockholders—assures a community of interest between it and the country. But the argument fails in the face of the fact than 38.94 per cent of all its stock is in the hands of fifty major stockholders and 90 per cent is owned by about 10 per cent of the stockholders. G. M. claims that it seeks only a fat return of 20 per cent on its investment. But in 1955 it collected a much fatter 65 per cent profit, before taxes, and 31 per cent after taxes. It has averaged more than 25 per cent return on its investment over the past eight years. (Its apologists in the U. S. Senate are seeking now to limit its income taxes, and that of other corporations, to 25 per cent instead of the present 52 per cent, which would increase G. M.'s rate of return to about 40 per cent, unless it voluntarily reduced prices—an unlikely prospect.) G. M.'s return of 31 per cent, after taxes, in 1955 should be compared with the 12 per cent enjoyed by American manufacturing firms as a whole; for firms with assets of $100 million or more, the average rate of return was less than 15 per cent. *G. M.'s return was more than double the national average.*

Harlowe Curtice, president of General Motors, has stated: "It is necessary for the corporation to be as large as it is because we have grown through technological development." This is pure rhetoric. The staff of the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly reported, "General Motor's return is more a reflection of its market power than its economic efficiency."

The corporation contends that the efficiency of any of its passenger-car divisions would be impaired if it were separated and operated independently. This amounts to saying that Chevrolet, for example, producing over two million cars with sales of four billion dollars a year, would not be in a sufficiently strong position, as an independent, to obtain experienced management, research, engineering and styling. It is difficut to characterize this contention as anything other than absurd.

G. M. today manufacturers more than 80 per cent of all buses used in both rapid-transit and interstate transportation. Its greatest strides in this market occurred within the past several years, during which three of its four principal competitors—old and well-established firms—were forced out of business, sacrificed upon the altar of G. M.'s notions of free enterprise. It was not that the defunct companies' buses were inferior; G. M. simply had the power, the capital, to buy up and operate whole bus lines and use various types of exclusive contracts—despite the antitrust laws. Moreover, through widespread banking facilities and connections, it was able to extend more liberal terms in this and other fields where competition required it. Independent finance companies generally complain that they are virtually foreclosed from G. M.-car financing and will be until G. M. Acceptance Corporation is di-

*All statistics in this article are fully documented in the reports of the subcommittee covering a period in November and December, 1955.

T. K. QUINN, former vice-president of General Electric, is the author of Giant Business: Threat to Democracy.

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vorced from the parent body—as it should be.

A single decision of G. M.'s policy board may affect vitally the business of over 18,000 dealers, 10,000 suppliers, 500,000 employees, 500,000 stockholders and, as a matter of fact, the whole American and world economy. When it decides on an expansion program the press goes into ecstasies, but there is rarely a hint that a contrary decision—or no decision at all—could precipitate a nation recession or depression. Regardless of government or Congress, G. M.'s decisions on price levels are a vital factor in determining whether or not the public is to be further victimized by inflation.

The corporation has had three of its representatives in President Eisenhower's Cabinet. No other single financial interest was ever so substantially recognized in our history. At one time there was talk of legal action against G. M.'s monopolistic practices; Stanley Barnes, Assistant Attorney General, who was bold enough to indicate that he was considering such action, suddenly became a candidate for a judgeship.

In anticipation of the Administration-approved road-building program, G. M. purchased the Euclid Road Machinery Company. This occurred after the passage of the O'Mahoney, Kefauver-Cellar Amendment to Section 7 of the Clayton Act, which made "conglomerate" and "vertical" acquisitions by merger subject to scrutiny under the anti-trust laws. The Euclid deal involved both types; the "conglomerate" aspect raised especially serious questions. The Department of Justice has so far overlooked an opportunity to test the law and to determine whether G. M., the largest manufacturing company in the world, should be permitted to grow still larger by acquisition in a field which promises to be very important.

During the recent subcommittee hearings, G. M. came under attack from some of its dealers. President Curtice won headlines with the announcement that G. M. was extending the term of its dealer contracts from one to five years—apparently a concession to the dealers. Actually the concession was meaningless. For the whole point about G. M.'s dealer contracts is that they may be cancelled by unilateral action of the corporation, with or without cause, at any moment. Mr. Curtice's announcement changed nothing in this regard. The G. M. dealers, who invest their own capital in buildings, show rooms and repair shops, are not the real judges of how to manage their establishments. They are not the judges of what to buy or how much advertising to use. They are not the real judges of the demand in their own communities. They are under strict control by G. M. management.

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

More and More and More

G. M.'s presence in the electrical-appliance and all other industries where it operates casts a shadow over the future of the competitors, who know that the corporation could decide at any time to expand business by lowering prices to cost levels. A few months of this kind of price-cutting could eliminate all but its strongest competitors. The current merger movement among independents is in large part a defense against the possibility of such action by giant corporations.

THERE is a great deal of idolatrous talk about the perfection of G. M.'s form of organization. Actually, this structure from the beginning was largely shaped by the fact that it was created by a merger of independent corporations. Whenever independent units with strong managements are joined together, the autonomy of the units must be recognized in some degree as a practical matter. Strong men simply will not be bossed like slaves. In this way whatever decentralization in management still exists within the corporation is a kind of hangover, however much the principal officers may be applauded for continuing it. With its enormous capital and market power, G. M. could be the poorest-managed company in the country and still be a huge financial success.

Wealth and power are increasingly concentrated in the hands of giant corporations in America. The press of the country is not keeping the public adequately informed on this vital issue. Measured in terms of gross assets, there are seventy billionaire corporations in the country with total gross assets of over 200 billion dollars. These and a handful of runner-up giants now employ directly and indirectly more than half of the nation's 64,000,000 presently employed workers. They have the power to influence educational institutions; they have writers, professors, reporters and broadcasters on their payrolls, many of whom are regarded by the public as "impartial observers"; they can make or break whole communities by moving their plants; they have even assumed the political prerogative of deciding whether or not an employee is loyal to his country.

Under the influence of the propaganda of giant corporations and their special interests, the American people are unknowingly forfeiting their birthright. For control over goods and production, like voting and civil rights, are elements in the struggle for power. Senator O'Mahoney, one of the comparatively few well-informed men in Washington on this subject, summed up the political significance of the continuing trend toward the concentration of economic power in America in a recent report to the Senate: "If we desire to win the so-called cold war, if we desire to preserve free government in the world, we must preserve economic freedom here in the United States. If we lose it here, it is lost for all mankind. That challenge faces us now."

Free economic and political competition, which we speak of as being democratic, can destroy democracy if given free rein. The attitude of the freedom-loving citizen must always be that he is unalterably opposed to the extreme concentration of power anywhere. In our country today the biggest single threat to economic freedom is the giant corporation—and the biggest among them is General Motors.

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LESTER PEARSON AND NATO

Crossroads for Both . . . *by Harold Greer*

Washington

ACCORDING to the popular press, the latest meeting of the North Atlantic Council was a "crossroads" session. The issue before its members was whether NATO is to erode away or whether a sounder foundation for it than fear can be developed to give it permanency. To find out just how much—or how little—they really agreed with each other, the foreign ministers named three of their number to take soundings and report back next autumn. The chairman of these "three wise men" —or "three blind mice," as he himself suggested—is Lester Pearson of Canada, who is now in the unique position of trying to find out whether he has a future in NATO.

Pearson himself is at a personal crossroads. Lord Ismay wants to quit as NATO Secretary General as soon as possible; Pearson can have the job for the nodding. He is undoubtedly the logical man for the job. The late Senator Arthur Vandenburg notwithstanding, it was Pearson who thought up NATO while he was Canadian Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. (In Canada, it is politic to give the credit to a post-war speech by Prime Minister, then Foreign Minister, Louis St. Laurent, but Pearson wrote the speech.) It was Pearson who in 1949 insisted on the incorporation in the North Atlantic treaty of Article II, the so-called "Canadian clause" which authorizes and enjoins the member nations to cooperate in the political, economic and social spheres to promote "conditions of stability and well-being." Since then, his promotion of the concept of the Atlantic community has made him the favorite after-dinner speaker of the New York and London chapters of the English-Speaking Union and the adopted darling of the Atlantic unionists.

Lester Pearson

At home, Pearson appears to be at something of a political dead-end. A restless, ambitious man who left the financial security of the civil service because he wanted to make policy, not implement it, he has nowhere to go but the prime ministry, and that seems destined to be denied him. At seventy-one, St. Laurent is beginning to show his years, but he likes his job and he is so popular in the country that the Liberals will run him in a wheel-chair if necessary in the 1957 elections. Pearson stands almost as high with the voters, but he does not command enough votes from the Liberal members of Parliament to succeed St. Laurent at a leadership convention. He has little private income, and while the Liberals are still not seriously threatened after twenty-one years in power, the opposition has to win sometime; the lush salary and pension of the NATO post is, therefore, a factor he has to consider.

This is assuming, of course, that there is a NATO post which would appeal to him, which at this moment is a very big assumption. Mr. Dulles has returned from Paris with glowing reports about the unanimity which prevailed there, but experience dictates that with Mr. Dulles one should always be cautious. It is probably true that some progress on implementing Article II can be made now that Mr. Dulles has discovered, in his New York speech of April 23, that such an article exists (it was American apathy to their views which prompted all the recent pressure from the Italians, French, Canadians and others for a change in the nature of the alliance). But it is very much open to question whether the time for developing the Atlantic community has not long since past; the Canadians actually lost most of their enthusiasm for Article II when Greece and Turkey were admitted to membership and the geographical basis for the Atlantic concept was forever destroyed.

There is no space here for a detailed analysis of this problem, but if an over-simplification is permissible, the future of NATO would appear to depend on weakening rather than strengthening it as an anti-Communist force. If the overall objective of Western policy is an honorable *rapprochement* with the Soviet Union, then the security of Europe must surely depend somehow on the positive participation of the Soviet Union. As usual, it has been up to Winston Churchill to point this out, and while it is heresy to Mr. Dulles, who wants a NATO capable of competing with Russia in this new era of coexistence, it is a point well appreciated by other Western diplomats who do not enjoy the freedom Sir Winston has as a private citizen. However, Pearson at least hinted at it when he told the English-Speaking Union in London before the Paris meeting that while the change in Soviet tactics will require closer political and economic cooperation within NATO, it will also require the West to "show

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HAROLD GREER covers Washington and the United Nations for the Toronto Star.

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others that what we are building is no selfish and exclusive way."

In short, the problem is algebraic and not merely arithmetical; it involves something more than a point—counterpoint response to Soviet policy. It means maintaining military unity on the premise that Russia's record makes disunity unthinkable; it also means concentrating on the non-military functions not only to correct the political and economic disagreements which are threatening the military unity of NATO, but to build a new kind of supra-national (not super-national) community which can envisage Soviet association at some future time. It is on this last point that Mr. Dulles and his allies part company. Whereas Mr. Dulles has pointedly mentioned several times the Organization of American States as the kind of anti-Communist outfit he has in mind, Pearson and others have suggested the British Commonwealth as a less static, less exclusive and therefore more suitable prototype.

THIS may sound like hair-splitting, but diplomacy is 90 per cent hair-splitting, and Pearson is a diplomat from way back. He is one of the originals of the Canadian foreign service, having entered the department as a first secretary in 1928 from the University of Toronto, where he had been an assistant professor of history. His early life can be duplicated many times in the Canadian public service: son and grandson of clergymen, educated at Victoria College, Toronto, and Oxford, teaching before going to work for the government. He enlisted with the University of Toronto hospital unit as a private and served in the Salonika campaign of World War I. In 1917, he was commissioned an army lieutenant, but pulled strings to get transferred to the Royal Flying Corps, where he promptly cracked up his plane. Although a failure as an air devil, he apparently did not deserve his Christian name of Lester in the eyes of his colleagues, who decided to call him "Mike." The nickname has stuck ever since.

His foreign-service career was uneventful, although he was a member of the Canadian delegation to the League of Nations in 1935 when his chief, the late Dr. W. A. Riddell, proposed oil sanctions against Italy for its aggression in Ethiopia. Rid-

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

On the Brink of a New Idea

dell was immediately repudiated and recalled by Ottawa, an action which had a decisive influence on the League's unhappy future. Pearson never forgot this and in the most important speech he has ever made in his life—the famous "unwise and premature" protest against those who wanted to declare all-out war on Communist China in 1951—he ad libbed a paragraph which referred to the earlier incident. "It has been said," he remarked, "that if the U. N. does not do its duty in condemning aggression in this case, it will go the way of the League of Nations when it defaulted over Ethiopia and it will deserve to do so. In my opinion, however, the fatal blow to the League was not struck by any refusal to call Fascist Italy an aggressor. I remember that it did so in eloquent and ringing terms. The fatal blow was struck when its members gave the world the hope and belief that this decision would be followed by effective action and then betrayed—and my own government was one of those concerned—that hope and debased that belief by running out on their obligation to take such action."

THAT SPEECH got Pearson appointed to a three-man U. N. committee—also dubbed the "three wise men"—to explore with Peking the possibilities of a Korean peace. The committee never got far in terms of specific progress, but it did keep the door open for the eventual armistice. Canada supplied the third largest contingent to the U. N. in Korea and proportionately did just as much as the United States; the Canadian government also maintains the same trade embargo against the Chinese mainland as Washington does. But for some reason—perhaps Pearson's periodic statements suggesting imminent Canadian recognition of Red China—Peking does not hate Ottawa as much as Washington. Pearson has exploited the distinction to good effect. At the 1954 Geneva meeting, the only Westerner to shake hands with Chou En-lai was Chester Ronning, an "old China hand" now serving as Canadian Ambassador to Norway. Mr. Dulles, who had summed Chou before the "bar of world opinion," was much upset, but Ronning had, of course, checked in advance with Pearson. Canadian-China talks in the following weeks led eventually to Peking's release of one RCAF and several USAF war prisoners.

THERE ARE, indeed, few international events since 1945 in which Pearson has not played an important part. Even at the San Francisco Conference (where he fought unsuccessfully against U. S. insistence on the veto) his professional reputation was such that only the threat of a Soviet veto kept him from becoming U. N.'s first Secretary General. Eight years later, the Russians were hinting that anyone was preferable to Trygvie Lie and Pearson, aware that the McCarthy witch-hunters had the U. N. secretariat on the verge of collapse, let it be known he was available. This time the U. S. forced Russia to veto him by insisting on a vote despite the Soviet delegate's warning that, lacking instructions from Moscow, he would have to veto all names proposed.

The Canadian has been a tireless advocate of economic aid to the have-not nations and is one of the architects of the Colombo Plan, perhaps the most successful venture in international cooperation the world has even seen. A proponent of coexistence long before the Kremlin adopted the term, he was the first to protest against "massive retaliation," arguing that there should be "no annihilation without representation." It is generally conceded in diplomatic quarters that Pearson's demurrers over Quemoy and Matsu made the Eisenhower Administra-

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tion realize how completely alone it stood on that affair. Such activities have earned him the passionate hatred of the neanderthal American Right and *Time* magazine's appellation of "a Nehru in a homburg." Yet he is the staunchest and most realistic of anti-Communists; it is frequently overlooked, for example, that he did not return Molotov's invitation on his recent trip to the Soviet Union—an almost unpardonable diplomatic sin. He avoided the issue by suggesting to Molotov casually that he drop up to Canada sometime when he was attending the U. N. in New York. When asked on his return whether he had invited Molotov, Pearson replied that it was all "a little vague": after an evening of Russian hospitality, one may have invited a great many people—a crack which caused a Canadian editor to fume that it was bad enough for the minister to get drunk with the Russians without boasting of it in public.

At fifty-nine, Pearson is now completing his eighth year of free-wheeling diplomacy, a record which makes him the dean of his diplomatic peers (Molotov has been around longer, but not continuously). If he goes to NATO, he will no doubt have an easier and more profitable life. But one may respectfully question whether his contribution to international affairs will not be considerably lessened. For example, as the chief of even an expanded NATO, would he be able to urge Mr. Dulles to scrap the 1950 tripartite declaration and bring the Soviet Union into a Middle East settlement through the U. N., as he did recently at the height of the Palestine crisis? And is not the "development of the Atlantic community" too Utopian an ideal for this lifetime?

As Canadian foreign minister, Pearson is in a unique position. Most foreign ministers are so much the prisoners of domestic pressures—witness what Mr. Dulles wrote before assuming office and what he has done since—that they become the creatures rather than the creators of events. Pearson has behind him a stable government, political bipartisanship on foreign policy and a public opinion which is reltaively uninterested in the outside world. True, there is a national suspicion that he sometimes gets too big for Canada's britches, but he has never once been seriously attacked or criticized. Moreover, he is a politician who is philosophically dedicated to Edmund Burke's maxim that the representative is responsible not to "public opinion" but to his own conscience, that he has the duty to use his experience and the responsibility of public office to lead and mold public opinion and not just answer it.

As an American comedian is wont to say, "You can't hardly get them kind any more."

DEMOCRACY TODAY

Responsibility the Key . . *by David Thomson*

Cambridge, England

WESTERN democracy is dedicated to the principle that government rests not on authority or force, but on will. And it is usually assumed that in a democracy this will is that of "the people," of the whole community of citizens. Americans think of "We the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution. . . ." Frenchmen think of the dictum of 1789 that "Law is the expression of the general will," and in the constitution of 1946 they adopted Lincoln's principle that government is "of the people, for the people, by the people." Englishmen, having never openly committed themselves to anything quite so metaphysical as these doctrines, think of the "sovereignty of Parliament"; but they know that the House of Commons, at least, is supposed to represent the whole electorate of universal suffrage, and they vaguely suppose that within it Her Majesty's Opposition will see to it that Her Majesty's Government does not stray too far from the path of democratic behavior.

EVERY political scientist knows that these beliefs have slender basis in fact; but so wide is the gulf between political theory and political practice, and so lacking in influence are political scientists, that these beliefs survive almost intact. They are little more than the traditionalist relics of great revolutionary occasions—of historic moments when politics were given a new shape and a new direction by dramatic exertions of popular will. They are no more the realities of day-to-day government and politics than wedding-cake and champagne are the everyday verities of married life. They are rose-colored memories of exciting flirtations with the wantons of revolution; and the French, who more consistently than any other people have tried to live with such wantons, have ended by making democracy incompatible with government. The English, who have good historical reasons for knowing that states are made by statesmen rather than by peoples, and that anyhow much more than will is required in good government, have never favored democracy at the expense of government.

Insofar as government is a matter of will at all, it derives from the will of political parties and politicians, and to a lesser degree from the diverse wills of pressure-groups and forceful personalities in all walks of public life. The "will of the people" operates, as a rule, only to demand

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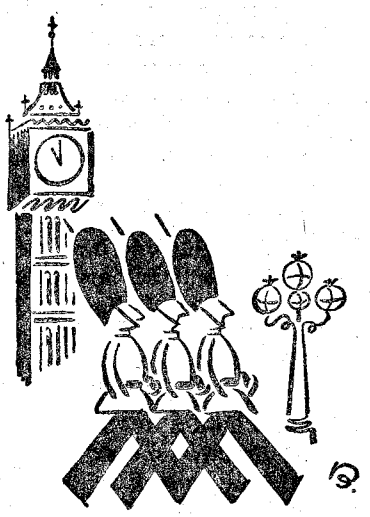
that certain general expectations be fulfilled by any government; and at election time it exercises a restricted choice between rival teams of politicians presenting themselves for public office. (In France even this second choice is hardly offered to the elector, since none can predict what combination of parties may prove able to collect a majority.) These points of governmental sensitivity to the people's will are very important. They are of the essence of democratic government, because they hold governments responsible, accountable and above all removable. But they are sporadic in operation and not always effective, and they are only the more spectacular side of democratic government.

Upon the great majority of decisions—that is, of acts of will—which have to be taken by men in political power, public opinion can have little direct effect. About most decisions of this kind no public opinion exists, and if it did exist it could not easily be ascertained, and if it could be discovered it could not usually be discovered in time. Every politician in power has to work largely in the dark about the people's will. He must trust mainly to his own experience and political instincts and insights and to the collective opinion of his colleagues. Moreover, to many of the decisions that he has to take, public opinion is largely irrelevant. Much of the business of modern government is governed by the taskmaster of objective circumstances and hard facts; and many of the decisions about it are technical choices which can be wisely made only with expert advice.

THE superstition that democratic government derives from the will of the people rather than from the will of politicians has many unfortunate results. It is only by shedding such superstitions that we can grasp our way towards a more truthful notion of democratic government and a more realistic program for improving it. There are two respects in which it is particularly important that we should think more in conformity with actualities. One concerns the sort of men to whom we give confidence and support in political life; the other is the way in which such men go to work once they get political power.

On both sides of the Atlantic the



tradition of the "talented amateur" as the ideal democratic politician dies hard. It is true that a certain versatility is called for in political life which an over-narrow expertise would frustrate. But what matters is a rich variety of knowledge and talents among the ranks of politicians as a whole, not a large proportion of inexpert or dilettante politicians. The favor shown in American elections for "a business man for governor"—or even "a business man for President"—is a strange relic of the out-of-date belief that the business of government is merely business, which it is not: it is maybe a relic, too, of an age of simpler politics and do-little governments.

We would be rightly reluctant to entrust our bodies to a surgeon whose only qualification was success in Wall Street, or our souls to a bishop who was merely a business executive in disguise. There seems to be no good reason why we should look for any less specialized aptitudes in politics. The tasks of modern government are clearly highly specialized, and the aptitudes which make for success in them are obviously not the same as those which command success in any other calling. But we think of this so much as "the age of the common man" that votes go most readily to "the regular guy"; "career politician" has become an almost derogatory term. The jealous spirit which kept Churchill in the wilderness during the crises of the thirties, or which overthrew Pierre Mendès-France a year ago, is a spirit unworthy of modern democracy. It recalls the Athenian democracy which destroyed Socrates and was for eternity pilloried by Plato.

It is no use crying for the moon. It is likely that the amount of creative energy and of the highest talents available to a community at any one time is more or less finite. It would be an impoverished community if much of this energy and these talents were not devoted to other activities than politics—to science, the arts, business, the professions. But in a healthy political system we may reasonably expect that some men with the greatest aptitudes will be attracted into political life. The most we can hope to ensure is that this does happen and that, as in any other calling, the more rank-and-file politicians can form a corps of tolerably intelligent, honest and responsible men, capable of fulfilling the special labors of government with adequate efficiency. A theory of government which assumes an assembly (or even a cabinet) of supermen is as unrealistic as the cynical pessimism which looks upon all politics as dirty and every politician as a scoundrel.

OF COURSE, politicians have their own occupational afflictions. They are, by natural selection, men more prone to vanity than to greed, more compromising than combative, more avid for fame than for wealth. The gentle or sensitive man seldom stays the course. But many different motives prompt men to go into politics, and men of widely different characters find the exacting life of the politician a stimulus and a reward. The best that the party member and the voter can hope to do is to back men of good sense and sound judgment, whose known experience and aptitudes seem most nearly to qualify them for the rigors and responsibilities of the endless adventure of governing. They should refuse to be persuaded that outstanding success in business, or exceptional skill in law, are in themselves any more relevant as recommendations than would be skill as a surgeon or as a plumber. The most relevant experience is that of politics or administration, and the systems of local or state governments in America, Britain and France have traditionally proved some of the best training-grounds for the future governors of the nation. It is less difficult to detect the candidate who is likely to carry out efficiently the regular duties of the ordinary Congressman

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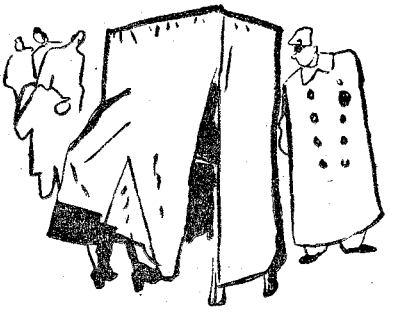
or parliamentarian than to be sure that he will have the judgment and public spirit needed to give loyal support to the rare individual of outstanding political genius when the hour evokes such a man. Maybe it is a sound principle to look for the man who would be good in a crisis: especially in conditions of twentieth-century politics. Compare the nerveless panic which induced 569 French parliamentarians to surrender plenary powers to Marshal Pétain in July, 1940, with the almost unanimous acclaim for Churchill in the British Parliament after Dunkirk.

WITH the current tendency in many democratic states for differences of party ideology or program to be less substantial than traditional party demagoguery likes to pretend, and for effective politics to fall into the hands of moderate men whatever their party affiliations, the choice before the elector can be more specifically one of men rather than measures. So much of what a modern government does is what any other government in its position would be obliged to do, that the caliber of the men in power is beginning to matter more than those subtle differences of priority and emphasis in policy so beloved by party propagandists. Recent election results in Great Britain suggest that the electorate is impressed less by exaggerations of party differences in ideology or program than by evidence that one party is more weakened than the other by internal splits, and so is less likely to provide in practice a coherent policy. The two most effective governments that France has known since 1945 have been Blum's caretaker administration of 1946-7, which was the only single-party (Socialist) ministry in modern French history, and that of Mendès-France in 1954 which—though like the rest, a coalition—was utterly dominated by the political agility and astuteness of its Premier. Firmness and coherence of management in the country's affairs have a utility which may often transcend details of doctrine, and electorates are showing signs of valuing highly this utility. It becomes correspondingly more possible to induce parties, in their choice of men and of maneuvers, to offer electorates a more acceptable choice.

The second way in which democratic government can be brought more into conformity with actualities concerns the way in which the decisions of men in power can be influenced at the moment when they are made. These decisions may range from those of top-level importance about financial or foreign policy to those of minor or even administrative detail, but they all have three essentials in common. They should, ideally, be based on the fullest and most expert advice available; they should be determined by what the responsible minister believes to be the best interests of the country; and they should be such that he feels he can "carry the country with him" in taking them. The last of these three essentials is unlike the first two in that it is variable in its relevance and importance: being of greatest importance in decisions of general and top-level significance and of almost negligible relevance in minor decisions.

Most modern governments have probably evolved good enough machinery for making expert advice available. Certainly they all keep up elaborate establishments of experts in finance and statistics, in science and warfare, in social services like education and transport, and in technical administration. It is in his reconciliation of this advice with his judgment of national interests and with his political insight into public response to his decision that the true skill of the democratic statesman lies. This is the specialized task of democratic government for which no amount of business acumen or merely technical ability are substitutes. It is by his skill in accomplishing this that a politicain will ultimately stand or fall in repute as a leader of democracy.

To "carry the country with him," in the sense described above, it is not of course enough for him merely to guess what would be the most popular course and adopt that. This



is the debased sense of leadership encouraged by the notion that it must be the "will of the people" which governs. Policy, like legislation, can mold public opinion, just as it is experience of a new measure which may be the most persuasive argument in its favor. There are two techniques, widely adopted in Great Britain during and since the war, which point in the right direction. One is the attachment to most of the social-service departments of advisory committees, composed partly of civil servants but mainly of laymen representing various public interests or groups—the trade unions, the churches, professional or voluntary bodies, or simply public people of repute with a special knowledge and interest in the work of the department concerned. These committees can advise, from the earliest stages of legislation or policy-making, how best to handle particular issues. They have usually proved conspicuously successful. The other device is the generous use of official publications explaining, often in vivid popular form, the purposes and principles of policy. The economic white papers, the leaflets explaining more economic uses of fuel, the pamphlets about schools and pensions and national assistance have helped a lot to smooth the introduction of Britain's welfare state and to create relationships of mutual understanding between the general public and officialdom. A good national policy can be made intelligible to its beneficiaries; it is the duty of a modern democratic government to make it intelligible in concrete terms.

THESE healthier conceptions of how political democracy works nowadays—of how it must work if it is to serve modern needs—require us to give up thinking so exclusively in terms of "the will of the people" and rather in terms of the legitimate expectations of the people whch it is for a good government to fulfill. A system of social security based on a policy of full employment, like the system of civil rights and liberties based on the rule of law, needs an articulated theory of democracy which conforms to actuality. When political scientists evolve such a theory they may earn some of the esteem already gained by their colleagues the economists.

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The Private World of Beatrice Webb

BEATRICE WEBB'S DIARIES 1924-1932. Edited and with an Introduction by Margaret I. Cole. Longman's, Green and Company. $6.

By Kingsley Martin

BEATRICE WEBB was an extraordinary woman. Among English women who have played a part in public affairs, Florence Nightingale is her only competitor. For half a century she was famous as half of the Webb partnership. Everyone knew that, with Bernard Shaw, they were the kernel of the Fabian Society; that they wrote, among an enormous number of scholarly books, a classical history of trade unionism which was translated by Lenin; that as the persistent and persuasive advocates of collectivism and "the inevitability of gradualness," they provided the basic ideas which inspired the Labor Party until the second World War; and that in their old age they became ardent students of Russian communism.

What the world did not know, at any rate until 1926 when Mrs. Webb's *My Appreciceship* was published, was that she had an important private career of her own. There she revealed the facts of her own early life, and of her personal conflicts as an extremely attractive young woman who could have been a brilliant success in society, and her deep sense of social obligation which made her refuse the spectacular marriage with one or other of the leading personalities of her day. (The new volume includes as an appendix her own account of how she just missed marrying Joseph Chamberlain, with whom she was very much in love, because of his insistence that no one associated with him—certainly no woman—could express any opinions that differed from his.) *My Apprenticeship* was at once acclaimed as one of the most distinguished commentaries on English life and thought in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Her next volume, which began with her marriage to Sidney Webb in 1892, revealed that she had always kept an elaborate diary. It took the story up to 1912 and showed how much the ideas of the Welfare State were modelled in the struggle to break up the old Poor Law in which the Webbs played so important a part. After her death a selection from her diaries, largely made by herself, brought the story up to the first Labor government in 1924. The present volume, again edited with a valuable introduction by Margaret Cole, covers the period of Ramsay MacDonald's first minority government, the General Strike, and the disillusionment of MacDonald's disastrous premiership of 1929-31.

FOR THOSE who wish to study the evolution of the British Labor Party, this volume is of inexhaustible interest. The references which no doubt would have been wounding to people who are still alive, or to their relatives, have been omitted. But the treasury is still rich. Already in 1924 Beatrice Webb understood the danger of what she was later to christen "the aristocratic embrace." She saw that Ramsay MacDonald was the indispensable leader of the party. His splendid appearance, his eloquence and lovely voice at once marked him out. (Bernard Shaw was later to remark that a man was not expected to be perpetually prime minister because he had "three false registers in his voice.") She appreciated his capacity for managing people and his facile grasp of subjects which had not so far commanded the attention of most of the men who had risen from the ranks of Labor. But she also noticed his vanity, his increasing distaste for serious discussion and his tendency to dispense with his Labor colleagues and rely on the society of a few men—and even more, titled women—who could talk to him in agreeably cultivated accents about anything except the problems that beset him. Equally she saw the weakness of the sons of toil suddenly elevated to positions which either baffled them or turned their heads, and she did her best, in the 1924 Parliament, to coach the wives of the ministers in their social duties. She herself came from such an assured class that she did not ask herself, as she might have done, whether they appreciated her well-meant efforts.

Beatrice and Sidney had little sympathy with the General Strike. She formed, rightly, a contempt for the Labor leaders who had embarked on the strike, a pity for the miners who were so badly led and a reinforced conviction that a Socialist society must be based on collectivism, that is, on the state organization of goods and services and not on the syndicated principle which diminishes the state and leaves power in the hands of producers' organizations. During the period of the 1929 government her portraits of Labor leaders and of others became more scathing, and her dislike of political life as a whole and her disillusion with that which she and Sidney had done so much to build, became dominant.

Retired from active politics, in a country house that they had built, the Webbs became sages to whom the younger generation went on pilgrimage. There, in the thirties, they lived and worked intensively, but now almost wholly absorbed in the Soviet Union. "Old people," Mrs. Webb used to say, "must be absorbed in something, usually in themselves. We prefer to be absorbed in the USSR." But when the conversation—there was never such a house for conversation—about Russia finally gave out, often late in the evening, Mrs. Webb would tuck up her skirts by the fire, and reminisce. Soon one would find that she was more interested in religion, though her beliefs were not orthodox, than in any other subject. One quickly learnt the essential difference between the Webbs. She would have liked to write a novel, and she spent a large part of her nights—for she was a bad sleeper—in writing diaries in which she explored her own motives and discussed abstract problems which could

KINGSLEY MARTIN is editor of the London New Statesman and Nation.

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not hold Sidney's attention because he dealt only with facts. She remarked in this volume of the diary:

> One reason for my happiness with Sidney is that he does not seem to have any evil impulses; he does not want to get the best of every bargain; he has an instinctive liking for equality and a definite impulse towards inconspicuous and unrewarded service. But then as he is always saying, he has got my love and what does he want more?

And she recalls that somewhere in her diary, years before, she had written "I have staked all on the essential goodness of human nature," and at this date (1920) she wrote that she now realized:

> . . . how permanent are the evil impulses and instincts in man—how little you can count on changing some of these—for instance the greed of wealth and power—by any change in machinery. We must be continually asking for better things from our own and other persons' human nature—but shall we get sufficient response? And without this how can we shift social institutions from off the basis of brutal struggle for existence and power on to that of fellowship? No amount of knowledge or science will be of any avail unless we can curb the bad impulse and set free the good. Can this be done, without the authoritative ethics associated with faith, in a spirit of love at work in the universe?

Ten years later she revised this faith, too, for she came to believe that Soviet communism, in spite of many mistakes and excesses, was indeed curbing the bad impulses and setting free the good. The last volume of still unpublished diaries will reveal, I think, not a complete repudiation of this optimism, but a return rather to the earlier position that "the authoritative ethics" which she commended in the USSR need to be associated with a faith that is not wholly scientific.

Coming Soon

Maxwell Geismar reviews
A Walk on the Wild Side
by Nelson Algren
A Single Pebble
by John Hersey
Nuni
by John Howard Griffin

The Mandarins
by Simone de Beauvoir
Reviewed by Iris Murdoch

The Face of Evil

GESTAPO: Instrument of Tyranny. By Edward Crankshaw. Viking. $3.75.

By Frederick L. Schuman

IN *Russia and the Russians* (1948), Edward Crankshaw gave us what I still regard as the most penetrating contemporary study of Russian national character in relationship to geography, history and the ends and means of politics. He has now turned his attention, fruitfully as always, to a recapitulation and reinterpretation of the Nazi counterpart of the Cheka, NKDV and MVD —i.e., the *Geheime Staats Polizei* or Secret State Police, established by Goering in April, 1933, and run by Heinrich Himmler after April, 1934, until the *Gotterdammerung* of the Third Reich. Such a reconsideration of the most frightful instrumentality of torture and mass murder in the twentieth century is urgently called for if we are to comprehend the meaning and the perils of our time and perceive, in the centenary year of the birth of Sigmund Freud, the depravity to which our fellow-humans are capable of sinking.

Crankshaw, relying on the Nuremberg evidence and on much other material, presents a full and documented account of the Gestapo, its tangled relations with the S. D., the S. A. and the S. S. and with the Wehrmacht, and its incredible crimes of sadism and genocide against political dissenters and "subhumans"—i.e., Jews and Slavs. The facts are well known. Yet it is useful to have them put together in sequence and in graphic detail—lest we forget.

This book is no nationalistic or "racial" indictment of Germans. "In all modern societies," writes Crankshaw, "there are men and women who, released from all restraints, will behave like beasts toward their fellows." Only in Russia and Germany have they come to power. And only in Germany have they

> deliberately delegated their power without reserve to psychopaths and criminal riffraff. . . . In the last resort the German failure . . . is "a rejection of that reality which includes one's neighbors," and an attempt to substitute a false abstraction. . . . Unless they can learn to accept a reality which includes people, the Germans, in their restless and insane striving for something better, will remain dangerous to those who content themselves with trying to make the best of the world as they know it to be.

This timely and shocking study does not "explain" the hideous inhumanity which it so ably recounts. This would be to ask too much, since the best of political scientists and psychiatrists remain baffled by the problem. But Crankshaw reminds us, eloquently, of the existence of the problem. The new Soviet leaders are attempting to grapple with it. Britishers, Americans and Germans tend to substitute moral indignation for understanding. Unless the issue is faced, the process called by Sir Norman Angell "the Suicide of the West" may well go on and, despite current prospects of peace, land us all in limbo.

FREDERICK SCHUMAN, a frequent contributor to these pages, is at present on a visit to the Soviet Union.

A Kind of Genius

MY FRIEND HENRY MILLER. By Alfred Perlès. John Day. $4.
THE TIME OF THE ASSASSINS: A Study of Rimbaud. By Henry Miller. New Directions. $3.

By William Bittner

IN *The Time of the Assassins,* Henry Miller describes the man of genius. "He understands the past, he embraces the future—but the present is meaningless to him. Success holds no bait for him. He spurns all rewards, all opportunities. He is a malcontent." Arrogantly, Miller parallels his life-agonies with those of Rimbaud, as if to say, "I'm just as bad a boy as Rimbaud, and he was a genius, so I'm one too." The syllogism is bad, but there is no denying that Miller is a superb stylist with an original and significant point of view, and that one category of geniuses certainly fits his requirements.

From 1930 until the war, Miller inhabited the lowest fringe of expatriate society in Paris, a sort of literary Wimpy, perpetually on the lookout for a free meal or whatever

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else was going. Although the books in which he describes this life cannot legally be imported into this country, he has become our most notorious writer. Soldiers, returning from the war, brought back a Leica and a Luger from Germany, and Henry Miller's books from France—and got equally good prices for all three in the United States.

Alfred Perlès, who was Miller's closest friend in his Paris days, now offers his version of what went on. The facts, obviously, have been distorted to the disadvantage of everyone but the author and his subject. Miller is, however, a better writer than most other expatriates of the thirties; and although the quirks of an artist are usually irrelevant to his art, Miller's are not. Factual bias becomes a kind of poetic truth.

Not abashed to write a preface to the book Perlès wrote about him, Miller reveals that in their days together, what he sought from his friend was absolution. Miller's work is as sin-ridden—and as unworldly—as the Bible, but he has a sense of humor, the perspective that makes confession a joy and the follies of the world ridiculous. Where Isaiah and Ezra Pound rage, Miller thumbs his nose.

Compulsively, Miller made an experiment in living like Thoreau's, but lustier appetites denied him the one thing on which Thoreau glutted himself: dignity. Father-confessor Perlès attempts to link the raw materials with the books Miller made from them; but although he supplements reminiscence with comments and quotations (the unprintable passages in French), he does not do it well. Portions, particularly those concerned with the writing of *Tropic of Cancer,* are very illuminating; elsewhere he is garrulous and trivial; most of the book is somewhere in between.

WILLIAM BITTNER is Lecturer in Literature at the New School for Social Research. He is completing a critical study of Waldo Frank.

Gothic Painters of the North

NORWAY: PAINTINGS FROM THE STAVE CHURCHES. With a preface by Roar Hauglid and an introduction by Louis Grodecki. New York Graphic Society (by arrangement with UNESCO). $15.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THIS VOLUME, the fifth in the luxurious UNESCO series, is perhaps the most interesting because it opens up a field almost unknown except to a few scholars. While the wooden *stavkirker* and their carved portals have been widely published, the Gothic paintings on their simple vaults and their flat altar-frontals have not. They strike a curious note in their utterly indigenous architectural context, for their art is strongly rooted in European, especially English Gothic sources. Nevertheless, they betray a rude power that suggests earlier overtones, as if the Bayeux Tapestry had been crossed by the art of Gothic stained-glass figures. Curiously enough, large-scale figure painting except in glass windows has seldom survived from the Gothic period of Northern Europe, though we know that it flourished. These paintings, therefore, form a nearly unique basis for understanding Gothic architectural painting, an art which one now senses has been considerably misunderstood by guessing about it from such small-scale work as illuminated manuscripts. These thirteenth- and fourteenth-century paintings tell us much of importance about North European culture and paradoxically little about Norway.

Among the expressive elements that emerge from a study of the thirty-two superb and very large color plates, we may cite the violence of scenes of carnage and scourgings, the contorted poses and nervous draperies of figures (notably in the Shepherds of the Nativity cycle), unexpected exaggerations of proportion in certain pin-headed images and the dark and brooding, almost bronzelike colors, often set against backgrounds of silver rather than of gold.

All of this and much more is covered in the two scholarly essays, which are supplemented by several full-page photographs of the stave churches themselves.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., is chairman of the Art Department at Williams College.

TV and Radio Forecast

May 27 through June 2

(See local papers for time and channel)

Sunday, May 27

ANTARCTICA: THIRD WORLD (NBS). Part two of "Operation Deepfreeze." Film by NBC correspondent Bill Hartigan includes views of an air base being set up in the South Polar region and dramatic shots of four men, caught in a blizzard, making their way back to their ship. (Color)

Monday, May 28

BLOOMER GIRL (NBC; Producers' Showcase). Another musical-comedy revival, this one set in the years shortly before the Civil War. Harold Arlen music, E. Y. Harburg lyrics, Agnes de Mille choreography. This spectacular is produced and directed by Alex Segal, who produced "Dodsworth" for Showcase. (Color)

STAND UP AND BE COUNTED (CBS). Debut of a new audience-participation show in which individuals with problems will be advised by volunteers from the audience. Robert Russell is host.

WHO (NBC; Robert Montgomery Presents). Robert Wallace, whose "The Long Way Home" made quite an impression, deals with a man as he sees himself and as others see him.

Saturday, June 2

A BELL FOR ADANO (CBS; Ford Star Jubilee). The final offering for this season is a musical version of Hersey's novel. Lyrics by Howard Dietz; music by Arthur Schwartz. A location camera crew provides Sicilian background for Barry Sullivan and soprano Anna Maria Alberghetti.

RADIO

Sunday, May 27

AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR (ABC). The subject for today is a new angle on politics: "The Churches' Role in an Election Year."

SALUTE TO VAUDEVILLE (NBC; Monitor). Six months have been spent in preparing this presentation of an almost extinct species of American show business. Ex-vaudevillians appearing will include Jimmy Durante, Jack Benny, Bob Hope and George Jessel. A highlight will be the last recorded interview with Fred Allen. Dave Garroway will preside.

Thursday, May 31

NAME DROPPING (NBC; Conversation). Clifton Fadiman continues his evenings of upper-middle-brow talk, with Henry Morgan and Jacques Barzun.

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Television

Gilbert Seldes

WAKING out of a profound sleep, shortly after I'd been asked to pinch-hit for Anne Langman this week, I had one of those clairvoyant flashes in which the essential nature of television was revealed to me and I knew the exact word to say to prosper all its virtues and, painlessly, eliminate its defects. By the time the phone rang a third time, this heady and absolute revelation had gone and, it seems to me, thank Heaven! For I really know that there is no universal solvent for the errors of television, nor any single rule by which to measure it.

But like the haunting fragment of a dream, one conviction remains with me in waking hours. It is that, ever since broadcasting began with radio's uncertain yet headlong invasion of our homes, the critics of the medium, including myself, have been measuring it by inappropriate yardsticks. We have been misled by its resemblance to the drama and, when television arrived, by its double resemblance to the movies and the theatre. We have known that it puts itself forth as "entertainment" and have measured it in the terms of previous entertainment. And more and more I become convinced that essentially it is something else.

The tip-off is the parlor game which, so absolutely right for a medium that comes into your parlor, was never a considerable element of the public stage, not even in the casually put together theatrical form of vaudeville, and which is almost unthinkable in the movies. Amiable, bright, unpretentious even when it is mechanically elaborate, the guessing game or charade is certainly not a key to all the factors of television, but it is a clue. No matter how much machinery works in the background, the unpredictable instant stands out.

It is an axiom of the entertainment business that each new major form must learn to tell a story in its own terms. Until the movies did this (as Terry Ramsaye pointed out years ago) they were in danger of passing into the limbo of all minor fads. The problem is to find the right kind of stories to tell and the movies found the Western and the slapstick comedy, just as radio found its (technical) masterpiece, the daytime serial. In this process of discovery, the experimenters naturally draw on the older forms, translating novels or plays into their own idiom.

I am therefore not suggesting that the drama as we know it on the stage and in the movies isn't proper material for television. As *The Barretts* demonstrated a few weeks ago, you can do an impressive and admirable job even if, for the most part, you transliterate instead of translating, if you merely photograph what would occur on the theatre stage. But *Marty* and *A Man*

GILBERT SELDES is the author of The Seven Lively Arts *and* The Great Audience, *and editor of* The Portable Ring Lardner. *Anne Langman is recuperating from an operation.*

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by the author of *After The Lost Generation*

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by John W. Aldridge

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is Ten Feet Tall in their different ways were in the grain of television and more important to its future. They were built out of moments, not out of acts. They were prepared and rehearsed, but had the eddies and spurts of choppy water, not the flow of long rivers. They had, in short, something of the broken and impromptu feel of the non-dramatic TV program.

The bad side of the choppy effect is to let dramatists get by without having any sustained line at all, although Paddy Chayefsky and Robert Alan Aurthur, who wrote the two plays I've mentioned, are among the honorable exceptions. These were hour shows and the tendency now is to do drama in an hour and a half. But the average stage play which runs two hours (less some fifteen minutes for intermission) seldom requires the ninety minutes of attention now demanded of the TV audience (the time taken by commercials differs in psychological effect from the theatre intermission). The audience which drifts away from the ninety-minute dramatic show is reacting in a perfectly natural way: the long period, a great convenience in attracting multiple sponsorship, goes against the grain of broadcasting because it treats the family at home as though it were part of a captive audience which had invested so much time and money that it might as well stick the show out to the end. The independent American, descendant of the Minute Men, asserts himself and turns to another channel.

A few nights ago, Max Liebman, who deserves much praise for breaking out of even his own formulas, presented *The Music of George Gershwin* for an hour and a half and did it in the form least suitable to the needs of the audience in the parlor. It was a concert. With a lecture read to us at intervals. With the singing actors who had done *Porgy and Bess* on the stage all dressed in white tie and evening gown. With an almost rigid separation into dancing to Gershwin, singing Gershwin and instrumentalizing Gershwin.

Well, he was breaking away from what Ed Sullivan would do and, although Sullivan's essentially theatrical tributes to great composers are well done, it is good to have something else tried. But the successful experiments do not violate the nature of television itself, they are new ways of bringing the material to *us*, not to a vacuum. The audience is perfectly willing to pretend it is in a theatre—but the producer must strike home just the same.

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Theatre

Robert Hatch

AS EVERYONE who has sat through it knows, *The Iceman Cometh* (Circle in the Square) is an exhausting play. It is long by the clock (four hours and a half) and long for its own content. It repeats, it meanders, it falls into doldrums, it infects the audience with a contagion of impatience. And all this is quite deliberate. In the particular corner of hell represented by Harry Hope's saloon the torment is boredom. Men without strength to act or courage to think must erase the hours somehow; so they talk—in endlessly spiraling convolutions, treasuring and repeating every inane aphorism and second-hand figure of speech because they have scarcely enough of them to make the time march. The shop talk of alcoholism is the most painful in the world; only numbed brains can tolerate it.

O'Neill's method is not to suggest how it is, but to pour it out undiluted until the audience aches with it. Meanwhile his plot moves like a heavy snake through the sludge of words.

Each of the derelicts sheltered by Harry Hope—and Harry himself—has a dream. The dream makes each restless, it nags and worries him and keeps him futilely paddling in the water of ambition. So Hickey, that mad Freudian priest and drummer of hardware, would purge them and bring them peace. But the bums understand what Hickey is offering and they fight him with the pathetic astonishing strength of the dying. Oh the relief when Hickey is destroyed and the dreams recur! Poor bums; we may well give thanks that we are not sustained by bubble dreams, that we do not have to live a lie because it is the only life we have. Or at least we may be grateful that we do not have to wrestle with Hickey.

This last is the germ of terror that O'Neill leaves in the mind. It comes as an afterthought—it may come more surely from reading the play than from seeing it—for the method of *The Iceman Cometh* very nearly frustrates the content. An audience brought to a state of squirming revolt, consciously waiting for the last line and escape into the live street, is in no shape for thought, still less for introspection. But O'Neill works with an acid that eats deep. His pessimism is so impersonal and clear of self-pity that you cannot evade it. You must resolve to accept knowledge of it, answering it as best you can with "yes, but. . . ."

José Quintero's production at Circle in the Square seemed to me excellent. Theatre in the round (actually this stage has one standing wall) is well-suited to the sprawling structure of the play and it puts us all

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in the saloon, which is the point. The play makes severe demands on its cast, which must exert sustained and sharply-disciplined energy to communicate lethargy and mental squalor. Mr. Quintero's group seems completely saturated in the coma of defeat and it has the wonderful theatre quality of becoming increasingly convincing as the evening wears on. Of course the actors do in fact exhaust themselves and exhaustion in this case is the essence of style.

I HAD written a considerable notice of Leslie Stevens' *The Lovers,* which I then scrapped because the play closed after four performances. It was good entertainment, not a work of dramatic art, and there is little point to printing an extended obituary.

But the author must be discouraged at this point. Two years ago he was represented off Broadway with *Bullfight,* which earned him a good deal of critical applause. Last season he came into Broadway with *The Champagne Complex,* a slick piece of theatre that was as thin as cellophane and won, as I recall, more applause than it deserved. *The Lovers* was a substantial play, well-plotted and responsibly worked out. Its theme, the *droit du seigneur,* is a custom of rather obvious enticement, but Mr. Stevens' handling of it was neither obvious nor banal. He had something reasonable and relevant to say about human impulses and their moral consequences. Furthermore he was fortunate in having a strong cast, admirably directed.

Mr. Stevens, I feel sure, can write still better plays; he has a remarkable grasp of characterization and stage movement and an inquiring mind. But why should he? Television will pay him better for work much less demanding than *The Lovers.*

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Music

B. H. Haggin

ROBERT CHARLES MARSH set out originally to produce a chronological list of Toscanini's recording sessions, with the titles of what he recorded and with comment on the performances, on "the manner in which [the] records transmit the actual sounds of his performances" and on the degree to which the records might "represent a falsification of the facts." He has ended up with something more grandiose, *Toscanini and the Art of Performance* (Lippincott, $4.50), which in addition discusses Toscanini's personality, musicianship and career.

The list of recording sessions and an additional list of Toscanini's repertory offer factual information in which I have noticed only a couple of inevitable minor inaccuracies. The comment on the reproduction of the performances also deals largely with what is objective, verifiable fact—the fact, for example, that at No. 48 in the second movement of Debussy's *Ibéria* on LM-1833 the sound suddenly becomes much less bright and clear. But when Mr. Marsh writes that the splicing in of a passage from a broadcast at this point "was expertly done and cannot be heard" he reveals an inability to hear and report such fact correctly. And this inability to hear the sound produced by a record he demonstrates in numerous other instances, including the "enhanced" recordings I reported on recently. Thus, faced with the blurring up above, the lessened solidity down below, the over-all blowsy confusion, he writes that "the newer [*La Mer*] with 'enhanced sound' is clearly the better . . . offering more brilliance, solidity" and, he adds elsewhere, clarity; and he hears similar improvement in most of the similarly damaged "enhanced" versions (or similar excellence in the ones he didn't bother to compare with the originals). When he does report the coarsening of the sound of the 1952 "pop" recordings by added artificial resonance he fails to hear that this is true only of some, not all; and he fails to report the changes in these recordings on later 12-inch records. The book does not, then, offer accurate information about the reproduction of the performances.

Nor does it offer accurate, dependable factual information—as distinguished from evaluation—about the performances themselves. Mr. Marsh doesn't merely list the Prelude to Act 1 of *Die Meistersinger* on LM-6020 as having been recorded on November 26, 1951, when in fact it is dubbed from the 1946 78-rpm No. 11-9385; he hears that the performance on 11-9385 is "slower and more relaxed" than the one on LM-6020. And this ability to hear the nonexistent gives us also a description of details in the recorded 1939 Beethoven *Eroica*—an acceleration of pace from bar 65 in the first movement, a "speed-up, slow-down" treatment of the entire movement, "fugues whipped up like the long accelerating climaxes of Rossini overtures"—that are not in the performance: Toscanini maintains a basic tempo in the first movement which

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he never accelerates, but which he slows down momentarily for a new section or broadens out for a climax; and there is the same steadiness in the fugal passages.

With some of the statements about performances we get general pronouncements that also have no basis in fact. Toscanini plays a phrase in the finale of *Tristan* "in a cool, polished and unfeeling manner more appropriate to Verdi"; and the defect of the performance of Mozart's G minor is that it "is not German Mozart . . . but Toscanini Mozart, played with a passion, intensity . . . appropriate to Italian music." The second statement contradicts the incorrect one about Verdi, and is contradicted by the actual Italian character of Mozart's music—of the comic operas whose language, as Tovey observed, is Mozart's musical language throughout.

The worst examples of this sort of thing occur in the general discussion of Toscanini's work—in those ideas of his own that Mr. Marsh adds to what has been said by others. The facts are that Toscanini's performances changed; that one major change in the NBC years was away from relaxed rhetorical expansiveness toward swifter, tighter subtlety and simplicity; and that in some German works—e.g. Beethoven's *Eroica*—this was a change away from the slow tempos Toscanini had adopted from German conductors in the beginning. What Mr. Marsh makes of all this is a contention that th changes didn't occur in Italian music, which he says Toscanini played in the Italian *bel canto* style he felt secure in and therefore had no reason to alter; that they occurred only in German music, which Mr. Marsh says Toscanini, playing it with the slow tempos and rhetorical inflections of German conductors, felt stylistically insecure in; and that the development of a Toscanini performance of a German work proceeded from what Mr. Marsh calls the early "ancestral" performance with its German borrowings, to the later "transitional" performance "in which Toscanini's *bel canto* manner has replaced some of the German style and the rhetorical devices have been subdued," and finally to the "'singing' performance in the Italian manner" in which "German influences have disappeared" and there is "little or no rhetoric." Applying this schematization to the *Eroica*, Marsh is sure the 1935 performance, which he didn't hear, must have been a consistent statement in the "ancestral" manner, as the last 1953 performance was a restatement in the "singing" style; while what he considers the defects of the 1939 performance are those of a "transitional" version in which "Toscanini seems unsure of himself." But inconsistently with his schematization Mr. Marsh describes those defects—what he hears as the whipping up of fugues like Rossini accelerations, the "violent and unexpected compression and expansion of phrases"—as "Italian elements that don't belong in Beethoven, . . . theatrical devices [which] cheapen and vulgarize the *Eroica*," and which, "having tried them, Toscanini was right in removing."

Such inconsistency is likely to result when schematizing invention is substituted for directly observed fact. Actually Toscanini's earlier rhetorical expansiveness is heard in Italian *as well as* German music, in the 1936 Rossini *Semiramide* Overture as well as the 1939 *Eroica;* and the smoothing out is heard in the 1951 *Semiramide* as well as the 1949 *Eroica*. Actually too the changes in a Toscanini performance represented in each instance a new strongly-felt decision, not uncertainty: one hears a steadiness, control and sustained power in the 1939 *Eroica* which do not suggest a tentative, "transitional" conception of a conductor unsure of himself. And actually the unheard 1935 *Eroica* that Mr. Marsh guesses was still "ancestral" was the performance of a man of sixty-eight, and it probably resembled his 1939 performance more than it did the first one he had given thirty years earlier. But Mr. Marsh makes other statements about what he didn't hear—e.g. Mengelberg, Toscanini, Stokowski and Koussevitzky and their orchestras in the twenties—which someone who did hear all this can pronounce incorrect.

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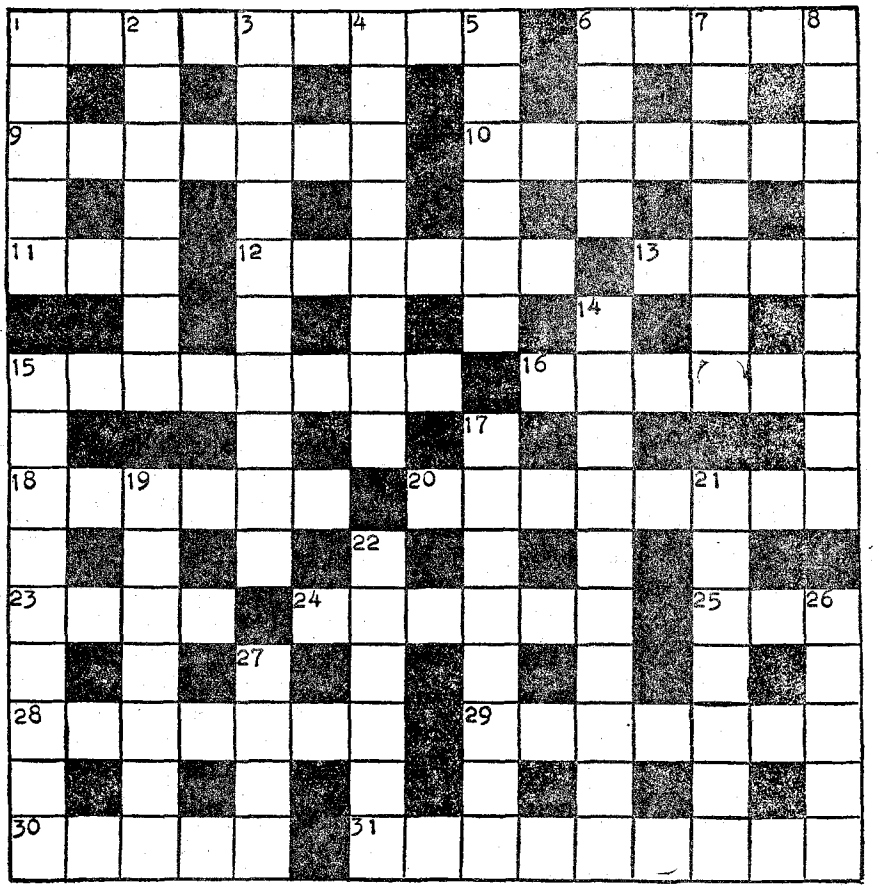

ACROSS

1 Headed for your station, of necessity? (4,5)
6 The hunchback doesn't need an unusual fate, as it were. (5)
9 City of wood and earth. (7)
10 Closest to that which listens in the home. (7)
11 and 30 Discredit desserts, perhaps, especially at breakfast! (8)
12 and 20 Evidently the winners were just landed gentry. (6,8)
13 Two of 31 without church projections. (4)
15 Put on board, perhaps, and left Paul in a bad condition. (8)
16 See 2 down.
18 This product was named for its earliest European use, as a corrective factor. (6)
20 See 12 across.
23 and 25 A swell time connected with this ship? (7)
24 Comparatively dark river associated with bonnets by Scott. (6)
25 See 23 across.
28 Logically, where the British put sleepers. (7)
29 Usually the large type might be going in one direction. (7)
30 See 11 across
31 This paper is as bad, but takes stock. (9)

DOWN

1 Is it the rather impecunious upbringing which makes it grow depressed? (5)
2 and 16 across Getting rid of a headache by running? (6,1,6)
3 Symptomatic of the hot-headed. (5,5)
4 Don't refuse to recognize so much! (Or sell at lower prices!) (8)
5 Lead in with a flat "No!" (6)
6 Right off the boat? You might find it here. (4)
7 A lover of philosophy and theology? (7)
8 Those who can usually have more than one tongue. (9)
14 His name might be appropriately "Twist" initially. (His end marked the ascent of Adam.) 10)
15 A rather ripe cargo of camphorated tincture of opium. (9)
17 Polish Dr. _____, obviously a man of title. (8)
19 Not necessarily implying wholesale slaughter, but certainly strife in great magnitude, even in defense. (7)
21 Closing time for them was earlier, when we were young. (7)
22 4, without its uneasy truce, requires a climbing skill when about to reach the plains. (6)
26 More exalted than 17 in Ethiopia. (5)
27 Abates. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 672

ACROSS: 9 POOR LAWS; 10 REIN UP; 11 HERETIC; 12 and 1 across BEGGING THE QUESTION; 15 ATTESTED; 17 and 27 across TURN BACK THE CLOCK; 22 AGELESS; 24 ATTACHE; 26 INKLING; 28 and 14 across ADD INSULT TO INJURY. DOWN: 2 HARLEQUIN; 3 and 20 across QUALITY STREET; 4 and 13 down EASY MARKS; 5 TORMENT; 6 OWING; 7 SOLEMN; 8 QUINCE; 16 STREAMLET; 18 URGENT; 19 ASSEGAI; 20 SITWELL; 21 ETHICS; 23 LAIRD; 25 OTIS.

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